

**TODAY and
TOMORROW**

Unholy Conspiracy

SOON after the radio broadcast of Wavell's proposals, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his Council of Ministers reviewed the situation in India after a careful scrutiny of all available facts and reports. Netaji and his Council of Ministers issued a communique warning Indian leaders and the people that any compromise with the British Imperialism at the present stage would be totally detrimental to the cause of India's freedom. They declared also that the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army were firmly resolved to continue the struggle for India's independence and urged Indians within India to intensify their anti-British resistance.

Following this communique, Netaji issued appeals and statements over the radio. He has particularly stressed the fact that Wavell's proposals have the sinister aim of reducing the Congress to the position of just one among many parties in India, instead of being, as it is today, the representative of the entire population of India.

Netaji has exposed this "unholy conspiracy" behind Wavell's proposals. Wavell evidently intends to give all the Muslim seats in the new Executive Council to the Muslim League, and the seats reserved for Caste Hindus may all be given to the Congress. For the remaining seats, the Viceroy will appoint his own nominees who will vote according to the Viceroy's directions. The Muslim League members of the Executive Council will also co-operate with the Viceroy. To get this co-operation Wavell has certainly already come to a secret understanding with the Muslim League.

The Azad Hind Government's communique and Netaji's broadcasts have already produced significant reaction in the minds of Indian leaders. Gandhiji himself has lately come out with a strong condemnation of Wavell's attempt "to force Congress into a place of Sectional or Hindu body."

Gandhiji has refused to represent the Congress officially at the Simla Conference. This is because Gandhiji wants to keep himself free to adopt a line that would be in accordance with the true will of the entire population of India. Of all India's leaders Gandhiji is most responsive to the public will.

Some of the Congress leaders, suffering from unwarranted pessimism, may be in a mood to compromise. But the people of India share none of this pessimism. They have followed the world military and political situation and are convinced of India's favourable position. As Netaji advises, if the Indian people and the rank and file of the Congress assert themselves and make their opinions and their united will strongly felt by public demonstrations and statements, then Gandhiji will advise the Congress to reject the unwanted offer.

For himself and the Provisional Government and the Azad Hind Fauj, Netaji has strongly expressed the determination to go on fighting to the last man and to the last round. This assurance of Netaji's is bound to influence the Indian people and their leaders. Far from compromising, India's leaders and the people will redouble the struggle for complete independence.

UNITY

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Wavell's Proposals Give "Complete Independence To Viceroy Only"; Netaji Urges Rejection Of Offer In Spirited Radio Talk To India's Leaders And Masses

Emphasizing and reiterating the point that Lord Wavell's latest proposals for the solution of the political deadlock in India are no better than the notorious Cripps' offer of 1942 and that India's demand for Purna Swaraj is in no way satisfied, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, in his broadcast to India yesterday from Syonan, exhorts his countrymen to reject Viceroy Wavell's proposals as they had rightly rejected the Cripps' proposals in 1942.

Following is the text of Netaji's broadcast:

Sisters and Brothers in India! I am going to speak to you today as I would have done, if I had been with you at this critical juncture. I shall speak to you as one who has been with the Congress—and has served the Congress with loyalty and devotion—since 1921, through fair weather and foul.

You remember very well—I hope—what political developments took place in India after September, 1939, when the war broke out in Europe. At that time, the British Government wanted to use the Congress Ministries in the provinces for the prosecution of the war. But the Congress refused to co-operate in the war-effort and for two reasons—firstly, India's National Demand for Independence had not been accepted by the British Government and, secondly, Britain's war was an imperialist war, in which India had no interest. At that time, there was no question of the Congress co-operating with the British Government at the centre—but only in the eight provinces, out of eleven, where there were Congress Ministries. Since the Congress decided not to co-operate in Britain's war in 1939, the Congress Ministries resigned, although it was then clear to every Congressman that if those Ministries had remained in office, they could have done a lot of good to the Indian people in other matters.

After the resignation of the Congress Ministries, the Congress gradually resumed once again the fight for freedom. The climax came in 1942, when the "Quit India" resolution was passed and the people were given a new slogan in their renewed struggle for liberty—the slogan of "Do or Die."

Wavell's Offer

Now in the year of grace 1945, we are confronted with Lord Wavell's offer. We are told that if the Congress agrees on wholehearted participation in the coming campaign in the Far East, then the Congress can get two things now—plus a promise of self-government for the future. These two things are—firstly, some jobs on the Viceroy's Executive Council and secondly, the restoration of the Congress Ministries in the provinces.

From the reports coming in from India, it appears that some Congressmen are very favourably disposed towards Lord Wavell's offer. This means that they are satisfied with a promise of self-government—not independence, mind you, provided the Congress Ministries in the provinces are restored and a few jobs on the Viceroy's Executive Council are made avail-

able to Congressmen. But all these things have been before the Congress for a long time. Firstly, the British have, all along, promised us self-government. Secondly, in the provinces, there were eight Ministries under our control in 1939, and it is we who decided that they should resign. Thirdly, jobs on the Viceroy's Executive Council have always been open to Congressmen who were prepared to sell themselves.

There are only two new items in Lord Wavell's offer. Firstly, the number of jobs on the Viceroy's Executive Council has been increased. Secondly as against that, there is an express and explicit stipulation, that acceptance of the offer will mean a pledge of wholehearted participation in the coming campaign in the Far East. This was not the case when the Congress Ministries tendered their resignation in 1939. The Congress Ministries—if they had so desired—could have continued in office after 1939, without giving a clear pledge of wholehearted participation in Britain's war.

A Few Questions

To those who are now eager to accept Wavell's offer, I should like to put a few questions, in order to clarify the issues before us:

1. What has happened to our goal of independence, to which there is not even a passing reference in Lord Wavell's offer?
2. Does Purna Swaraj mean Indianisation of the Viceroy's Council, or complete withdrawal of British power from India, including the Viceroy and British Commander-in-Chief?
3. Why did the Congress Ministries resign in 1939?
4. What has happened to the "Quit India" resolution of 1942 and to our national slogan—"Do or Die"?
5. Why did we condemn Congressmen like Sri Aney and Dr. Khare who accepted jobs in the Viceroy's Executive Council?

It cannot be argued by the "Compromise-wallahs" of today that the new Executive Council as envisaged in Lord Wavell's

offer will be fundamentally different from the Executive Councils of the past. The Viceroy himself has left no room for ambiguity. He has made it crystal clear that his proposal comes within the four corners of the Existing Constitution and that his plan does not imply a constitutional change. Further, it is the Viceroy who will appoint his Executive Council and the members of that Council will be responsible to him—and not to the Legislature. The most galling provision is that in the Executive Council, the will of the majority will not prevail and the Viceroy will have full powers to veto the decisions of that Council. This is the type of "Freedom and Democracy"—this is the type of the "New Deal"—that India is to receive at the hands of Britain.

I have to add that though some new jobs have been thrown open to us—e.g. Home and Finance Portfolios—the key position—viz., the War Portfolio—remains in the hands of the British Commander-in-Chief. The War Member will control not only his own department—but, on the plea of war requirements, he will also control all the other departments. Whatever the War Member will demand and the Viceroy will endorse, all the other Executive Councillors will have to agree to. The Executive Councillors will be LEGALLY bound by their responsibility to the Viceroy and Governor-General and will be MORALLY bound by their pledge of wholehearted participation in Britain's war. Consequently, Lord Wavell's proposal may best be described in the words of the late Vithalbhai Patel—as "Swaraj for the Viceroy"—not even "Swaraj for the Executive Council."

An Eyewash

As to the Department of External Affairs being handed over to an Indian Member, I feel that it will prove to be an eyewash—because the affairs of Indian States as well as tribal

(Continued on next page)

Fighting In South Okinawa Sector Now Intensifies

Tokyo, June 21 (Domei)—Fighting in the southern section of Okinawa Island is growing in intensity as the enemy started a new offensive on the entire front Monday morning June 18 under cover of intensive aerial bombardment. Enemy attempts to break through the eastern section of our defence line were held up for two days June 16 and 17 as a result of the gallant resistance put up by our forces.

On June 17 Nippon defenders succeeded in recovering a strategic hill in the Yayedake sector, bringing the war situation to a temporary standstill. On the following morning, however, the enemy launched a fresh offensive along the entire battle-front under cover of fierce artillery fire.

With the focal point of battle in the Yayedake sector, Nippon forces are at present battling gallantly to defend the line extending from a point south of Nakaza through the southern skirts of Yayedake to the western shore of the island. However, frontline reports indicate the fighting along the entire line is gradually developing into a melee.

With enemy invaders steadily infiltrating into Nippon positions on the southern side of Yayedake from the direction of the eastern coast, Nippon garrison forces are now carrying on furious hand-to-hand fighting, inflicting mounting losses on the enemy.

Meanwhile, in the Oroku sector where battlelines between the opposing forces are no longer distinguishable, Nippon marines at about 7.30 p.m. June 18 launched an all-out charge against the enemy forces. It appears that the battle in this sector has now entered the final stage.

New Italian Govt. Formed Leftists In Majority

Zurich, June 20 (Domei)—Ferruccio Parri, Italian partisan leader, has succeeded in forming a new Italian Government following prolonged negotiations with various Italian political parties, including the Communists, Socialists and Christian Democrats, according to a Rome dispatch.

The new Italian Ministry is expected formally to assume office today. The formation of a new Government ended an over one-month-long governmental crisis which was precipitated when Left Wing elements withdrew their support from the Bonomi Government.

The composition of the Parri Ministry shows a strong Leftist tendency, with the majority of the portfolios being secured by the Socialist, Communist and Action parties. Pietro Nenni, Socialist Party leader, has obtained one of the two vice-premierships in the Parri Government.

MASS MEETING OF INDIANS

On Sunday, 24th June 2605

when **NETAJI** will Address You on Wavell's Offer, Its Implications, Its Relations with World Politics and Our Freedom Movement in East Asia.

(Time and Venue of Meeting and Other Details Will Be Announced Later)

Netaji's Further Statement On Wavell's Infamous Offer To Indians Cont.

"It is the duty of all right-thinking and patriotic Indians, particularly of all progressive Congressmen, to start a raging and tearing campaign all over the country, without delay, with a view to preventing the acceptance of Lord Wavell's offer," declares Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, in his further statement on the Viceroy's proposals for the solution of the political deadlock in India.

The following is the concluding portion of the statement, the first instalment of which appeared in the Azad Hind yesterday:

You are now violently condemning the Viceroy and you are criticising him for giving an equal number of seats in the Executive Council to Caste Hindus and to Muslims. But why don't you go deeper into the question and unearth the unholy conspiracy that lies behind it? So far, not one single Indian leader has done so, judging from the reports that are now before me. I forget that the Members of the Hindu Mahasabha have taken what appears to be a wrong line. Our objections should not be to Muslims getting more seats—or even the majority of seats on the Executive Council. The moot question is who these Muslims will be. If we have Muslims of the type of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in whose hands the destiny of India will be safe, then personally I have no objection to giving all the seats to such patriotic Muslims. There is no difference between a patriotic Muslim and a patriotic Hindu.

The British intention in the present case is to give all the Muslim seats to the Muslim League. The seats reserved for the Caste Hindus may all be given to the Congress. For the remaining seats the Viceroy will appoint his own nominees who will vote according to the Viceroy's directions.

Clever Stratagem

Consequently with the Muslim League co-operating with the British Government the Congress Party in the Executive Council will become a standing minority. Thus by a clever stratagem the Viceroy will continue to rule India as he has done up till now but he will do so in future—if the Congress accepts the offer—with the help of the Congress and in the name of the Indian people.

Now the question arises as to whether the Muslim League members in the Executive Council will co-operate with the Viceroy. In my view, they will do so, because the Viceroy will throw a bait at them that if the Muslim League co-operates with the British Government, in its war efforts, then the British Government will help the Muslim League to realise its plan for Pakistan when a constitution is framed.

I have no doubt in mind that behind the offer of Lord Wavell there is a secret understanding either explicit or tacit between the Muslim League and British Government.

Sri. Bullabhai Desai, Sri. Rajagopalachari and others may think today that they will outwit Muslim League but it is Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues who will outwit them.

In the Executive Council the Muslim League Party will carry

out Britain's war policy in order to realise their plan of Pakistan as a reward for Muslim League co-operation in Britain's war. The Congress Party if they accept this offer will become a permanent minority in the Executive Council. Nevertheless they will have to carry out Britain's war policy as a part of the compromise. After the co-operation of the Congress has been secured by the British Government through a clever stratagem the British will, in the fulness of time, kick at the Congress and bring about the vivisection of India. In the meantime the Congress will have committed suicide by accepting the position that it is not the representative of the Indian people, but is one party among many parties in India.

Painful Surprise

I can understand those leaders who have so far declined to say anything about Lord Wavell's offer. But I am painfully surprised to find that some of these leaders who have spoken, like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, have not insisted on the release of the political prisoners prior to the Simla Conference. They have not even criticised the Viceroy for ignoring altogether those who have been imprisoned prior to the disturbances of 1942 as well as those who were imprisoned after those disturbances. All that the Viceroy has said is that if the Congressmen behave like good boys and accept his offer then the cases of those who were imprisoned in connection with the 1942 disturbances will be considered by the New Executive Council. There is not even a guarantee that they will all be released by the New Executive Council.

In conclusion I want to say that though I do not agree with the line of approach of the members of the Hindu Mahasabha and of the anti-Pakistan Front, I feel very strongly that they are rendering a distinct service to India by giving outspoken expression to their opposition to Lord Wavell's plan. In fact, I should go one step further and say that at this critical juncture, it is the duty of all right-thinking and patriotic Indians, particularly of all progressive Congressmen, to start a raging and tearing campaign all over the country, without delay, with a view to preventing the acceptance of Lord Wavell's offer.

Gandhiji Won't Fail

Mahatma Gandhi has always been responsive to public opinion—as a leader should be. By refusing to represent the Congress officially at Simla Conference, he has kept himself free to adopt a line that would be in accordance with the wishes of the public and with the true interests of India. I have no doubt in my mind that public opinion—and, in particular, the opinion among the rank and file of the Congress—should assert itself without delay. Mahatma Gandhi will not fail to take note of it and will then advise the Congress to reject the unwanted offer.

The destiny of India now lies in your hands. Be up and doing and see to it that Lord Wavell's offer goes the same way as its predecessor did in 1942.

Netaji Urges Complete Rejection Of Wavell's Offer In Spirited Radio Talk To India's Leaders & Masses

(Continued from previous page)

and frontier affairs will be outside the jurisdiction of this Member.

Though there is no question of "Collective responsibility," or "majority rule," in the New Executive Council—and though the Viceroy and Governor-General will remain the same autocrat as before—he has, nevertheless, sought to hide his autocracy in the New Executive Council, through an ingenious political device or stratagem. This stratagem consists in providing for a permanent majority in the Executive Council who will stand by the Viceroy under all circumstances.

It is, I believe, the intention of Lord Wavell to give to the Muslim League all the seats in the Executive Council reserved for Muslims, if the Muslim League makes that demand. Similarly, he will give to the Congress, all the seats reserved for Caste Hindus, if the Congress insists. The remaining members will be appointed by Lord Wavell, according to his own sweet will, and it goes without saying that these members will be completely subservient to him. It follows, therefore, that if the Viceroy can win over to his side, either the Congress bloc or the Muslim League bloc in the Executive Council, then he will have a permanent majority to stand by him at all times.

Secret Understanding

Now the question is as to which of the two blocs is likely to sell itself to the Viceroy. It will be difficult for the Congress Bloc to do so, because they will then be repudiated by the general public and by the rank and file of the Congress. But it will be possible for the Viceroy to win over the Muslim League Bloc to his side, by throwing a bait that if they behave like good boys and co-operate wholeheartedly in the war, then the British Government will, as a reward, help them to realise their dream of Pakistan. On the other hand, if the Muslim League Bloc gives him any trouble, the Viceroy will put out a threat that the British Government will lend its support to the plan of a unified India, as against the Pakistan Plan. In this connection, I shall venture the remark that it should be no surprise to anybody, if there is already a secret understanding—whether explicit or tacit—between the British Government and the Muslim League that both of them will make common cause against the Congress in the Executive Council.

If the above analysis is correct—as I am sure that it is—then it follows that if the Congress accepts the offer, the Congress Bloc in the Executive Council will become a permanent minority.

It is, therefore, incumbent on us to consider—coolly and dispassionately at this stage what the Congress and the country will gain by accepting the offer—and what the inevitable consequences of such acceptance will be.

So far as I can judge, the only thing that the Congress will gain by accepting the offer will be a few jobs on the Executive Council—but both the British Government and the Muslim League will stand to gain much. So far as the British Government is concerned, it will be able to prosecute the war with the

help of the Congress and in the name of the Indian people and it will, thereby, be able to exploit, much more than ever before, the entire resources of India for running the war. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, it will succeed in outwitting the Congress and in reducing the Congress to a permanent minority in the Executive Council. The Muslim League will also succeed in realising its dream of Pakistan with the help of the British Government.

When the British Government once succeeds in achieving its immediate objective—namely, the prosecution of the war through the help of the Congress—it will have no further need for the co-operation of the Congress. The British Government will then kick at the Congress—openly embrace the Muslim League—and bring about the vivisection of India.

In the meantime, the Congress will have humiliated and debased itself, and made itself ridiculous in the eyes of the whole world. It will have betrayed its fundamental principles and given the go-by to the goal of independence. Further by fighting Britain's imperialist war, the Congress will have forgotten its revolutionary purpose and lost its spirit of militant nationalism. The Congress will also have committed political suicide by voluntarily accepting the position that it is not the representative of the Indian masses but is only one party, among many parties in India. Last but not least, by compromising with British Imperialism, the Congress will have forfeited the sympathy of freedom-loving men and women all over the world—and will have lost the support of several friendly powers, including Soviet Russia.

Insignificant Gains

Sisters and Brothers! This is what you will lose by accepting Lord Wavell's offer. All that you will gain will be a few jobs in the Viceroy's Executive Council for some ambitious Congressmen.

I shall not tire your patience any further today—but before I close, I shall repeat a few salient points from my previous statements.

Firstly, do not forget what the origin and motive of Lord Wavell's offer is. That motive is to bamboozle you and get Indian troops to fight Britain's war in the Far East—that is, in regions beyond Burma and in the Pacific.

Secondly, if you believe in India's independence, then there is no reason to feel disheartened or discouraged because of the recent military successes of our enemies. India's position in the international field has never been so strong as it is today. By a combination of uncompromising resistance at home, armed struggle in East Asia and diplomacy in the international field, we shall get our independence by the end of this war. That will be real independence—not self-government within the British Empire nor Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Thirdly, beware of the new enemy that has appeared in your midst, namely, pessimism and defeatism. The people who fight and shed their blood do not succumb to defeatism. They are armchair politicians, and those who have avoided prison, who easily fall victims to pessimism

and despondency. Our Azad Hind Fauj has suffered many losses in the recent campaign in Burma, but this has only strengthened our determination to fight to the last man, and to the last round. The major portion of our Army still remains intact and will continue fighting.

Fourthly, in spite of all the propaganda of the Anglo-Americans, their military position in East Asia is not what they have been trying to make out. In Burma, hard and bitter fighting is still going on. And in the rest of East Asia, the Anglo-Americans will have to face prolonged and bitter fighting everywhere.

Fifthly, do not forget our comrades in prison and in internment and insist on their release before any negotiations take place. Remember also that the Viceroy has ignored all those who were imprisoned prior to 1942, as well as those who were imprisoned from 1942 onwards, but not in connection with the 1942 disturbances.

Time For Bargaining

Last, but most important of all, if you are determined on bargaining with the British Government for a compromise, then wait till the 5th of July. Whether a Labour Cabinet comes into office or a Conservative Cabinet—you will get far better terms if you negotiate after the 5th of July. Lord Wavell will move heaven and earth to come to a settlement with you before the 5th of July—because that decision will help the Conservative Party at the Polls. But do not walk into his trap.

Sisters and brothers at home! At this critical hour, the destiny of India lies in your hands. Lose no time in starting a raging and tearing campaign all over the country for making it impossible for anybody to compromise. You must see to it that before the 5th of July, the offer of Lord Wavell goes to the scrap-heap, as its predecessor did in 1942.



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